

Message Text

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN BOHEMIAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 9 SECTO 19010

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJECT: TRANSCRIPT OF PANEL SESSION WITH THE HONORABLE HENRY
A KISSINGER, SECRETARY OF STATE AND THE REPRESENTATIVES
OF WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL, PORTLAND COLISEUM, ASSEMBLY
HALL, PORTLAND, OREGON; THURSDAY, JULY 22

PASS S/PRS FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE. AND TO WHITE HOUSE FOR
SCOWCROFT AND NESSEN

MR. HOLLAND: GOOD EVENING. MAY I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION?
MODERATING OUR PROGRAM THIS EVENING IS MR. J. RICHARD
NOKES, EDITOR OF THE PORTLAND OREGONIAN AND PAST PRESIDENT
OF THE WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL. I ASK THAT DICK PLEASE INTRODUCE
THIS PANNEL.

MR. NOKES: THANK YOU, MR. HOLLAND. I WOULD LIKE
FIRST TO INTRODUCE TOM MCCALL, FORMER GOVERNOR AND TELE-
VISION COMMENTATOR FOR KG TELEVISION CHANNEL. (APPLAUSE)

MR. MC CALL: THANK YOU.

MR. NOKES: NEXT IS WANDA MCLAISTER, WHO IS EDITOR
OF THE EDITORIAL PAGE OF THE CORVALLIS GAZETTE TIMES, WHO
LAST WEEK WON THE EDITORIAL OF THE YEAR AWARD FROM THE OREGON
NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHERS ASSOCIATION. (APPLAUSE.)

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DONALD STERLING, JR., EDITOR OF THE OREGON JOURNAL.

(APPLAUSE.)

KENNETH RYSTROM, EDITOR OF THE VANCOUVER, WASHINGTON
COLUMBIAN. (APPLAUSE)

MR. RYSTROM: THANK YOU DICK.

MR. NOKES: THANK YOU.

MR. HOLLAND: THANK YOU, DICK. THE WORLD AFFAIRS
COUNCIL OF OREGON, LIKE ITS COUNTERPARTS OVER THE COUNTRY,
HAVE LONG BEEN DEDICATED TO THE PROMISE THAT ONE OF THE STRONG-
EST ELEMENTS IN THE ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY IS AN INFORMED CIT-
IZENRY. SO, IT IS MOST APPROPRIATE TONIGHT THAT SOON AFTER
THE VERY SUCCESSFUL APPEARANCE HERE OF PRESIDENT FORD AT THE
CONCLUSION OF THE NORTHWEST FORUM ON FOREIGN POLICY, THAT
WE HAVE AS OUR HONORED GUEST A MAN WHO HAS TIRELESSLY
TRAVELLED THE GLOBE IN PURSUIT OF AN ELUSIVE PEACE.

HE IS ALSO ONE WHO HAS MADE SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTIONS
TO THE DOMESTIC UNDERSTANDING OF FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES, WHICH
IN ONE FORM OR ANOTHER, DIRECTLY IMPINGE ON OUR LIVES AND
FORTUNES HERE IN THE TRADING AND SHIPPING CENTER THAT WE KNOW
AS THE CITY OF ROSES.

OUR SPEAKER TONIGHT REQUIRES NO FORMAL DISSERATION
ON MY PART. HIS DISTINGUISHED CAREER AS A HARVARD FACULTY
MEMBER HAS BEEN ENRICHED BY AUTHORSHIP OF HALF A DOZEN BOOKS
IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS AND DIPLOMATIC HISTORY.

HIS HONORS AND AWARDS ARE LEGEND. HIS CONTRIBUTION
TO STRATEGIC STUDIES, BOTH IN AND OUT OF THE MILITARY,
ARE IMPRESSIVE AND VARIED.

HE WAS SWORN IN AS AMERICA'S 56TH SECRETARY OF STATE
ON SEPTEMBER 26, 1973.

OUR SPEAKER HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS A LATTER DAY
METTERNICH. BUT IN THESE DAYS OF INSTANT COMMUNICATIONS AND
FLASH-POINT DIPLOMACY, A WORD FAMILIAR TO ALL OF US HERE IN
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THE HEAVILY TIMBERED AND FIRE CONSCIOUS NORTHWEST, HE IS
PROBABLY BEST KNOWN AS THE CENTRAL FORCE OF WHAT HAS BE-
COME THE ERA OF SHUTTLE DIPLOMACY, AN AGE OF ALMOST CEASELESS
EFFORTS TO BRING PEACE AMONG THE WARRING NATIONS OF THE
MIDDLE EAST.

OUR GUEST TONIGHT HAS HIS HUMAN SIDE. HE ONCE CON-
FIDED TO AN ITALIAN JOURNALIST THAT HE FELT AT TIMES LIKE A

LONE COWBOY LEADING CARAVANS INTO DANGEROUS TERRITORY.

I BELIEVE WE CAN ASSURE HIM THAT HERE IN THE WEST
ON THE OREGON TRAIL, THE ANALOGY IS VERY APT. BUT WE CAN ALSO
REASSURE HIM THAT BOTH THE COUNTRY AND THE NATIVES ARE FRIENDLY
IN LARGE PART. (APPLAUSE.)

SO WE INVITE HIM TO FIRE AWAY AT THE PROBLEMS HE SEES
ON THE RAMPARTS OF THE WORLD OF BOTH PERIL AND PROMISE.

WILL YOU JOIN ME AND WELCOME DR. HENRY ALFRED KISSINGER,
SECRETARY OF STATE, FROM AMERICA AND THE IDEA OF AMERICA AS A
MOST SPECIAL PLACE IN HEART AND MIND.

(STANDING OVATION)

MR. NOKES: MR. SECRETARY, DO YOU HAVE ANY OPENING
REMARKS BEFORE WE BEGIN OUR QUESTIONS BY THE PANEL??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I WOULD LIKE TO SAY, FIRST OF
ALL, THAT IT IS VERY DANGEROUS FOR YOU TO ASK A FORMER HARVARD
PROFESSOR TO MAKE OPENING REMARKS BECAUSE THE NORMAL PERIOD
OF REMARKS FOR ME IS 50 MINUTES. (LAUGHTER) AND I DON'T
USUALLY GET TO THE VERB UNTIL THE 25TH. (LAUGHTER)

I APPRECIATED THE VERY FRIENDLY THINGS THAT HAVE BEEN
SAID ABOUT ME. BEFORE YOU GET TOO IMPRESSED BY MY AUTHORSHIP
OF BOOKS, I WOULD LIKE TO TELL YOU WHAT A BRITISH REVIEWER
WROTE ABOUT ONE OF MY BOOKS. HE SAID, "I DON'T KNOW WHETHER
MR. KISSINGER IS A GREAT WRITER, BUT ANYONE FINISHING HIS
BOOK IS A GREAT READER." (LAUGHTER)

WHEN I WAS A PROFESSOR, NOTHING USED TO IRRITATE ME
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MORE THAN SENIOR OFFICIALS WHO DESCENDED ON US AND EXPLAINED
TO US THAT ALL OPTIONS HAD BEEN CONSIDERED. THE BEST POSSIBLE
ONE HAD BEEN CHOSEN. AND IF WE ONLY KNEW AS MUCH AS THEY DID,
THERE WOULDN'T BE A QUESTION PERIOD. (LAUGHTER) I AM HERE
TO TELL YOU THAT ALL OPTIONS HAVE BEEN CONSIDERED. (LAUGHTER
AND APPLAUSE.) AND THE BEST POSSIBLE ONES HAVE BEEN CHOSEN.
AND IF THAT DOESN'T INTIMIDATE THE PANEL, NOTHING WILL.
(LAUGHTER.)

BUT I THOUGHT, RATHER THAN MAKE A FORMAL PRESENTATION,
IT IS MORE INTERESTING FOR ME TO BE ABLE TO RESPOND TO SOME
QUESTIONS. IT IS ALSO EASIER ON MY STAFF IF THEY DON'T HAVE TO
PREPARE A FORMAL SPEECH.

THE BASIC POINT THAT I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH YOU

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN IS THAT WE HAVE BEEN LIVING THROUGH A REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD OF FOREIGN POLICY -- NOT BECAUSE WE WANT TO, BUT BECAUSE CONDITIONS IN THE WORLD HAVE CHANGED.

THROUGH ALL OF AMERICAN HISTORY UNTIL THE LATE SIXTIES THE UNITED STATES WAS PHYSICALLY PREDOMINANT. WE COULD CHOOSE TO ENTER FOREIGN AFFAIRS OR WITHDRAW AS WE SAW FIT. WE HAD SUCH A MARGIN OF PHYSICAL SUPERIORITY OVER OTHER COUNTRIES THAT WE COULD WAIT UNTIL DANGERS BECAME OVERWHELMING.

NOW WE LIVE IN A WORLD IN WHICH THERE ARE OTHER COUNTRIES OF ROUGHTLY EQUAL STRENGTH. AND THEREFORE WE HAVE TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY, NO MATTER WHO IS IN OFFICE, WITH A SENSE OF NUANCE, ON THE BASIS OF PERMANENCE, THE WAY OF OTHER NATIONS HAVE HAD TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY THROUGHTOUT THEIR HISTORY. THAT MEANS THAT THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PUBLIC AND THOSE WHO MAKE DECISIONS BECOMES EXTREMELY IMPORTANT MORE IMPORTANT THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS PERIOD. BECAUSE WHEN THE SCOPE FOR ACTION IS GREATEST, THE KNOWLEDGE ON WHICH TO BASE SUCH ACTION IS AT A MINIMUM. AND WHEN THE KNOWLEDGE IS GREATEST, THE SCOPE FOR ACTION HAS OFTEN DISAPPEARED.

IN 1936, HITLER GERMANY COULD HAVE BEEN STOPPED WITH VERY LITTLE EFFORT. AND IF THAT HAD BEEN DONE, PEOPLE WOULD STILL BE ARGUING TODAY WHETHER HITLER WAS A MISUNDERSTOOD NATIONALIST OR A MANIAC BENT ON WORLD DOMINATION.
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BUT BY 1941, EVERYONE KNEW THAT HE WAS A MANIAC BENT ON WORLD DOMINATION. WE HAD TO PAY FOR THIS KNOWLEDGE -- OR THW WORLD HAD TO PAY FOR THIS KNOWLEDGE WITH 20 MILLION LIVES.

SO, WHEN ONE ACTS IN TIME, ONE HAS TO DO SO ON THE BASIS OF AN ASSESSMENT THAT ONE CANNOT PROVE TRUE WHEN IT HAPPENS. AND THEREFORE THERE IS A NEED FOR CONFIDENCE AND A NEED FOR RESTRAINT IF ONE IS TO AVOID HARDER DECISIONS FURTHER DOWN THE ROAD.

WE HAVE, IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE COMPLICATED PROBLEMS, ON THE ONE HAND OF MAINTAINING OUR MILITARY SECURITY, BECAUSE NO NATION CAN MAKE ITSELF DEPENDENT ON THE GOOD WILL OF ANOTHER NATION. BUT WE ALSO HAVE TO REALIZE THE FACT THAT IN THE THERMONUCLEAR AGE, THE QUESTION OF WAR AND PEACE TAKES ON AN UNPRECEDENTED CHARACTER. A NUCLEAR WAR WOULD MEAN TENS OF MILLIONS OF CASUALTIES, AND THE END OF SOCIETY AS WE

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HAVE KNOWN IT. THEREFORE, NO TASK IS MORE URGENT THAN THE
MAINTENANCE AND PRESERVATION OF PEACE, AS LONG AS IT CAN BE
DONE HONORABLY.

IN ADDITION TO THIS, WE LIVE IN A WORLD IN WHICH
THERE ARE A HUNDRED OR SO NEW NATIONS THAT HAVE TO BE
INTEGRATED INTO THE COMMUNITY OF NATIONS.

SO THESE TASKS OF SECURITY, OF PEACE, OF THE CON-
STRUCTION OF AN INTERNATIONAL ORDER ARE THE TASKS THAT HAVE
PREOCCUPIED ME WHILE I HAVE BEEN IN OFFICE, AND PREOCCUPIED
PRESIDENT FORD, AND THEY WILL PREOCCUPY ANYBODY ELSE WHO IS IN

THIS POSITION.

AND IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT I WELCOME OPPORTUNITIES
SUCH AS THESE TO GO OUT INTO THE COUNTRY, MEET WITH CONCERNED
CITIZENS, HEAR THEIR QUESTIONS, AND TRY TO RESPOND TO THE BEST
OF MY ABILITY.

SO, WHY DON'T WE WITH YOUR PERMISSION, TURN THIS
OVER TO THE PANEL.

MR. NOKES: THANK YOU, MR. SECRETARY. I DECIDED THAT
I HAD THE RIGHT TO ASK THE FIRST QUESTION, AND I AM SURE
SOME ONE WILL ASK IT TONIGHT, SO I WILL ASK IT NOW AND GET
IT OUT OF THE WAY.

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MR. SECRETARY, THREE OR FOUR YEARS AGO, YOU WERE RIDING THE CREST OF A POPULARITY WAVE. YOU WERE ON THE COVER OF THE NEWS MAGAZINES WHICH CALLED YOU "SUPER K." MORE LATELY YOU HAVE BEEN BRUISED BY DEMOCRATIC CRITICISM IN CONGRESS, REPUBLICAN CRITICISM FROM RONALD REAGAN'S SUPPORTERS, AND A PICKET LINE IN FRONT OF OUR BUILDING TONIGHT.

DO YOU FEEL, IN RETROSPECT, THAT YOU SHOULD HAVE QUIT WHILE YOU WERE AHEAD (LAUGHTER) AND IS THERE ANY FEELING ON YOUR PART, OR ON THE PRESIDENT'S PART, THAT YOU SHOULD LEAVE YOUR PRESENT POSITION PRIOR TO THE ELECTION IN NOVEMBER??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL OF COURSE, MY FATHER IS OF THE VIEW THAT -- AND HE IS AN OBJECTIVE OBSERVER (LAUGHTER) -- THAT THIS CRITICISM IS EXTREMELY UNFAIR. (APPLAUSE AND LAUGHTER.)

IT IS TRUE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME CRITICISM. BUT I THINK THIS IS INEVITABLE IN AN ELECTION YEAR. I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT FOR THE MAIN LINES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY, THERE IS CONSIDERABLE SUPPORT. I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE PROPER TO LEAVE TO HUSBAND ONE'S POPULARITY. I THINK ONE HAS, IF ONE IS FORTUNATE ENOUGH TO HAVE PUBLIC SUPPORT, THAT IS SOMETHING ONE SHOULD USE TO DO CONSTRUCTIVE THINGS, AND NOT SOMETHING THAT ONE SHOULD ATTEMPT TO BANK AND PRESERVE. AND IN ATTEMPTING TO BACK IT, ONE WILL CERTAINLY LOSE IT. BECAUSE THE ULTIMATE JUDGMENT IS WHAT PEOPLE THINK OF ONE'S ACTIONS FIVE OR TEN YEARS FROM NOW AND NOT THE FLUCTUATIONS OF DAY-TO-DAY OPINION.

BUT, ON THE WHOLE, I THINK WE HAVE HAD THE SORT OF SUPPORT THAT MAKES POLICY POSSIBLE.

I HAVE NO INTENTION OF LEAVING BEFORE THE ELECTION. (APPLAUSE.) AFTER THE ELECTION, THERE ARE MANY APPLICANTS FOR MY JOB. (LAUGHTER)

MR. NOKES: TOM MCCALL, FIRST QUESTION.

MR. MC CALL: TWO MONTHS AGO, MR. SECRETARY, I INTERVIEWED YOUR BOSS, THE PRESIDENT, AND YOU HAD MADE THE STATEMENT THE DAY BEFORE THAT YOU PLANNED TO LEAVE THE ADMIN-
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ISTRATION. AND I SAID TO MR. FORD, AREN'T YOU GOING TO WHEEL HIM INTO STAYING, AND TRY TO KEEP HIM THERE? AND HE SAID, "I BELIEVE WHEN YOU HAVE A GOOD MAN, YOU WANT TO TRY TO KEEP HIM." I AM WONDERING IF ANY AMOUNT OF WHEELING, EITHER

BY PRESIDENT FORD OR JIMMY CARTER, MIGHT INDUCE YOU TO STAY
ON AS SECRETARY OF STATE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WELL I HAVE SEEN THE BEGINNINGS OF
THREE ADMINISTRATIONS, AND THAT IS A ROUGH PERIOD WHILE
PEOPLE ADJUST TO EACH OTHER. SO, I WOULD SAY THAT I WOULD NOT
THINK THAT I SHOULD BEGIN WITH A NEW ADMINISTRATION AGAIN.
BUT I WOULD ALSO HASTEN TO ADD THAT I DON'T HAVE THE IMPRESSION
THAT I WILL HAVE TO SPEND SLEEPLESS NIGHTS ON THAT
PROBLEM. (LAUGHTER)

I COULDN'T BREAK SO MANY HEARTS OF PEOPLE WHO ARE
ALREADY MEASURING THE DRAPES IN MY OFFICE. (LAUGHTER)

IN CASE PRESIDENT FORD -- OR WHEN PRESIDENT FORD IS
RE-ELECTED, I DON'T THINK IT WOULD BE PROPER FOR ME TO SAY
NOW THAT I WILL NOT TALK TO HIM, AND WE WILL JUST HAVE TO
WAIT UNTIL THAT SITUATION OCCURS.

MR. NOKES: MRS. MCALISTER.

MRS. MC ALISTER: THE OLYMPIC TEAMS ARE VERY MUCH ON PEOPLE
MIND ON TELEVISION THESE DAYS. AT ONE POINT, THE
UNITED STATES THREATENED TO BOYCOTT THE GAMES BECAUSE OF THE
TAIWAN-CHINA QUESTION. AND NOW, 29 OR 30 -- I DON'T KNOW HOW
MANY NUMEROUS TEAMS HAVE WALKED OUT OVER THE NEW ZEALAND
TEAM'S TOUR OF SOUTH AFRICA. AND THE WHOLE FUTURE OF THE GAMES
SEEMS VERY MUCH UP IN THE AIR.

I AM WONDERING, AS A FOREIGN RELATIONS ASSET, DO THE
GAMES REALLY SERVE A CONSTRUCTIVE PURPOSE, OR HAS POLITI-
CALIZATION BECOME TOO INTENSE TO WARRANT CONTINUATION OF THE
GAMES?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: OUR BASIC POSITION HAS BEEN THAT THE
OLYMPIC GAMES SHOULD BE TREATED AS A SPORTS EVENT IN
WHICH THE COMPETITORS ARE THERE BECAUSE OF ATHLETIC ABILITY
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AND NOT TO MAKE A POLITICAL POINT.

WE WERE IN NO POSITION AS A GOVERNMENT TO EITHER ENTER
A TEAM OR TO WITHDRAW A TEAM. OUR POSITION WAS NOT GEARED TO
THE MERITS OF THE ISSUE OF WHICH OF THE GOVERNMENTS THAT
CLAIMED TO REPRESENT CHINA SHOULD BE REPRESENTED AT THE OLYM-
PICS.

OUR POSITION WAS THAT IF THE HOST GOVERNMENT INSISTED
ON ITS POLITICAL JUDGMENT OVER THAT OF THE INTERNATIONAL
OLYMPICS COMMITTEE, THEN IN 1980, WHEN THESE GAMES ARE IN

MOSCOW, OR IN 1984 WHEN THEY COULD BE ANYWHERE ELSE, THERE WOULD BE A POLITICAL TEST APPLIED TO EACH OF THE PARTICIPANTS, AND THE GAMES WOULD BECOME TOTALLY POLITICIZED.

OUR POSITION WAS THAT WHOMEVER THE INTERNATIONAL OLYMPICS COMMITTEE CERTIFIED SHOULD BE FREE TO APPEAR AND THAT THE HOST GOVERNMENT SHOULD ACT AS A LANDLORD RATHER THAN AS A SCREENING AGENCY.

SIMILARLY, WE THINK THAT THE PARTICIPATION OF OTHER GOVERNMENTS OR OF OTHER COUNTRIES SHOULD NOT DEPEND ON THEIR AGREEMENT WITH ACTIONS OF ONE OF THE MEMBER COUNTRIES, WHOSE INDIVIDUAL TEAM MAY HAVE COMPETED IN A WAY THAT THEY DIDN'T LIKE.

SO WE HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THE OLYMPIC GAMES CAN BE RETURNED TO THE ATHLETES, AND DO NOT BECOME AN ARENA IN WHICH POLITICAL TESTS ARE APPLIED. (APPLAUSE.)

MR. NOKES: DON STERLING.

MR. STERLING: SIR, ONE OF THE ISSUES THAT IS OF SOME CONCERN THERE IN THE PACIFIC NORTHWEST IS THE PROBLEM OF ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION, ESPECIALLY FROM MEXICO. IS THERE ANYTHING THE UNITED STATES CAN DO THAT IT HASN'T DONE TO REDUCE THAT FLOW OR TO OTHERWISE ALLEVIATE IT??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION IS PRODUCED BY TWO PRESSURES -- OBVIOUSLY BY PRESSURES WITHIN MEXICO WHICH MAKE IT ATTRACTIVE FOR PEOPLE TO LEAVE AND WORK IN THE UNCLASSIFIED

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UNITED STATES; AND BY PRESSURES IN THE UNITED STATES TO GET CHEAP LABOR.

IN ADDITION, THERE IS A LONG FRONTIER WHICH IS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO POLICE.

WE HAVE ATTEMPTED TO -- WE HAVE HAD NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT ON THIS SUBJECT. AND THE LATEST IDEA WHICH WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO EXPLORE IS TO SEE WHETHER WE CAN PUT THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANT, OR TECHNICAL AID THAT WE GIVE TO MEXICO IN THOSE FARM AREAS FROM WHICH THE GREATEST EXODUS TAKES PLACE, TO CREATE ADDITIONAL INCENTIVES FOR PEOPLE TO STAY THERE. AND MANY PEOPLE TH

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Q. DO YOU HAVE THE IMPRESSION, SIR, THAT THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT IS DOING ALL IT CAN TO DISCOURAGE THIS ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: IT IS A TOUGH POLITICAL PROBLEM FOR THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT. IT IS NOT USING MAXIMUM FORCE WHICH ONE CAN UNDERSTAND.

MR. NOKES: KEN RYSTROM.

MR. RYSTROM: MR. SECRETARY, RECENTLY YOU SAID THAT GOVERNOR CARTER'S FOREIGN POLICY BASICALLY WAS PARALLEL TO YOURS, HIS PROPOSED FOREIGN POLICY. AND I WAS CURIOUS WHAT WAS BEHIND YOUR STATEMENT. WERE YOU TRYING TO TAKE THE FOREIGN POLICY OUT OF THE FALL CAMPAIGN?? WERE YOU LOOKING FOR A JOB NEXT JANUARY?? (LAUGHTER)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I HAVE ALREADY SAID THAT I --

MR. RYSTROM: I KNOW, YOU KIND OF STOLE MY THUNDER ON THAT ONE. (LAUGHTER) BUT I STILL HAD TO ASK THAT QUESTION. BUT FURTHER IN WHAT AREAS DO YOU SEE YOUR POLICY AND HIS PROPOSALS AS BEING PARALLEL??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: OF COURSE, I SUFFER FROM THE FACT THAT GOVERNOR CARTER HAS PRONOUNCED HIMSELF ON FOREIGN POLICY ONLY TWICE IN GENERAL SPEECHES.. SO THERE HAS NOT BEEN EXCESSIVE PRECISION IN HIS PRONOUNCEMENTS. I WAS REFERRING UNCLASSIFIED UNCLASSIFIED

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TO THE GENERAL PHILOSOPHICAL OUTLINE.

OUTLINE.

I DO BELIEVE THAT THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES SHOULD BE APPROACHED ON A NON-PARTISAN BASIS. I DO NOT BELIEVE IT IS HEALTHY FOR OUR COUNTRY AND FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT EVERY FOUR OR EIGHT YEARS THERE CAN BE A FUNDAMENTAL REVISION OF FOREIGN POLICY.

THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT THERE CANNOT BE TACTICAL DIS-
AGREEMENTS. OF COURSE THERE CAN BE. BUT THE MAIN LINES OF
OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAVE TO REFLECT THE BASIC INTERESTS AND
BASIC VALUES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. AND THEY DON'T CHANGE
THAT FREQUENTLY.

THIS IS WHY I BELIEVE THAT IF AT ALL POSSIBLE, DEBATES
ON FOREIGN POLICY SHOULD BE CONDUCTED WITH GREAT RESTRAINT.
AND MY GENERAL HOPE IS TO KEEP THE FOREIGN POLICY ISSUES ON
AS HIGH A LEVEL AS POSSIBLE.

I DON'T DOUBT THAT AS GOVERNOR CARTER SPELLS OUT HIS
PROGRAM IN GREATER DETAIL THAT MY PROFESSORIAL INSTINCT MAY
RUN AWAY WITH ME. AND UNDOUBTEDLY DISAGREEMENTS WILL DEVELOP.
AND, AS I SAID AT A PRESS CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON SOME WEEKS
AGO, THERE HAVE BEEN ENOUGH HINTS AND INDICATIONS IN WHAT
GOVERNOR CARTER HAS SAID ON INDIVIDUAL ITEMS IN WHICH WE WOULD
NOT SEE EYE TO EYE. BUT I WILL WAIT UNTIL THEY ARE SPELLED OUT
MORE BEFORE WE MAKE ANY COMMENT.

BUT I DON'T THINK, IN ANY EVENT, THAT IT IS THE
FUNCTION OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO BE A PRINCIPAL
PARTICIPANT IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. (APPLAUSE.)

MR. NOKES: TOM MCCALL HAS ANOTHER QUESTION.

MR. MCCALL: DO YOU THINK MR. SECRETARY, THAT THE
DIALOGUE IN THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE HAS IN ANY WAY INFLUENCED
OR IMPAIRED THE CONDUCT OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: INEVITABLY IN AN ELECTION
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YEAR, FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS ARE BEGINNING TO LOOK AT WHAT MAY
BE AHEAD. INEVITABLY THEY WILL HAVE TO ASK THE QUESTION WHETHER
THE GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH THEY ARE DEALING -- OR THE ADMIN-
ISTRATION WITH WHICH THEY ARE DEALING -- IS GOING TO BE ABLE TO
CARRY OUT WHATEVER COMMITMENTS IT IS MAKING IN THE NEGOTIA-
TIONS. WHICH IS ONE REASON WHY IT IS IMPORTANT FOR FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE THE SENSE THAT THERE WILL BE SUBSTANTIAL
CONTINUITY FOR THE MAIN LINES OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY NO MATTER
WHO IS IN OFFICE.

I CANNOT SAY THAT OUR FOREIGN POLICY HAS AS YET BEEN IMPAIRED
BY THE POLITICAL CAMPAIGN. I HAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT FOREIGN
GOVERNMENTS ARE GETTING MORE SOPHISTICATED IN UNDERSTANDING
WHAT IS BEING SAID IN THE PAGEANT OF THE MOMENT.

SO, ON THE WHOLE, AND IN FACT RATHER SURPRISINGLY FOR
ME, I THINK WE HAVE BEEN ABLE TO CONDUCT FOREIGN POLICY

WITHOUT ANY SUBSTANTIAL IMPACT BY THE ELECTION.

MR. NOKES: WANDA MCALISTER.

MRS. MC ALISTER: TERRORISM, WITH ALL ITS TRAPPINGS OF POLITICAL MURDER AND SKY-JACING, AND ALL THE REST, CONTINUES UNABATED AND SEEMS TO BE ON THE INCREASE. YET THE UNITED NATIONS CAN'T EVEN PASS A RESOLUTION CONDEMNING TERRORIST ACTS.

IS THERE ANY HOPE THAT THAT ORGANIZATION CAN TAKE EFFECTIVE ACTION WHATSOEVER TO REDUCE TERRORISM? OR HOW DO YOU PROPOSE THAT INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM CAN BE CONTROLLED?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THE DIFFICULTY WITH GETTING INTERNATIONAL ACTION ON TERRORISM IS THAT THERE ARE ALWAYS SOME GOVERNMENTS THAT SYMPATHIZE WITH THE OBJECTIVES OF SOME OF THE TERRORISTS, EVEN THOUGH THEY DON'T AGREE WITH THEIR METHODS. THERE ARE OTHER GOVERNMENTS THAT ARE AFRAID OF WHAT THE TERRORISTS MIGHT DO TO THEM IF THEY TAKE DRASTIC ACTION. AND THEREFORE IN THE PAST IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO GET INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

NOW, IT IS BECOMING HOWEVER INCREASINGLY APPARENT.

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I THINK MORE AND MORE NATIONS ARE COMING TO REALIZE THAT TERRORISM IS A BLIGHT ON THE HUMAN CONSCIENCE AND IT IS AN OFFENSE TO ALL CIVILIZED RELATIONSHIPS AMONG NATIONS.

IT IS TRUE WE COULD NOT GET THE REQUIRED MAJORITY FOR THE ANTI-TERRORISM VOTE IN THE UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL. BUT WE DID HAVE SIX NATIONS IN FAVOR AND FOUR NATIONS OPPOSED, AND WE WERE JUST LACKING THE THREE ADDITIONAL VOTES WHICH IT WOULD HAVE TAKEN TO MAKE IT A LEGAL RESOLUTION.

BUT THE OTHER RESOLUTION, THE ONE THAT WAS CONDEMNING ISRAEL FOR ITS RAID WAS NEVER BROUGHT TO A VOTE AT ALL, WHICH IS A CONSIDERABLE CHANGE OVER THE MOOD IN THE UNITED NATIONS A YEAR OR TWO AGO.

WE WILL REINTRODUCE -- OR WE WILL SUPPORT THE REINTRODUCTION OF ANTI-TERRORISM RESOLUTION, AND PARTICULARLY FOCUSED ON THE KIDNAPPING OF PEOPLE--ON THE ISSUE OF THE KIDNAPPING OF PEOPLE AND HIJACKING OF AIRPLANES, IN WHICH WE HOPE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY OF THE UNITED NATIONS WILL PUT SOME TEETH INTO ITS PROVISIONS, AND WE WILL NOT UNDERSTAND IF NATIONS WILL NOT GO ALONG WITH TRYING TO STAMP OUT THIS BLIGHT.

MRS. MC ALISTER: WHAT SORT OF TEETH ARE YOU TALKING ABOUT?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: FOR EXAMPLE, WE ARE NOW WORKING WITH SEVERAL COUNTRIES ON THIS. BUT IF, FOR EXAMPLE, THERE WERE INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS TO PREVENT HIJACKERS FROM LANDING IN AN AIRPORT, AND IF COUNTRIES THAT PERMITTED HIJACKERS TO LAND WERE THEN EXCLUDED FROM THE INTERNATIONAL CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATION, I THINK SOME PROGRESS COULD BE MADE.

WE HAD A SPATE OF HIJACKS WITH CUBA FOR A LONG TIME, AND THEN AN AGREEMENT WAS MADE, AND SINCE THEN, THERE HAVEN'T BEEN ANY. SO WE KNOW IT CAN BE STAMPED OUT, IF THERE IS DECISIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION, IF THERE IS NO HAVEN TO WHICH THE TERRORISTS COULD GO.

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MR. NOKES: DON STERLING.

MR. STERLING: SHIFTING TO THE MIDDLE EAST, SIR, WHAT EFFECT DOES THE WAR IN LEBANON HAVE ON YOUR STEP-BY-STEP DIPLOMACY IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: FIRST, LET ME EXPLAIN WITH RESPECT TO OUR DIPLOMACY. WE WERE FACED IN 1973 WITH A SITUATION IN WHICH THERE WAS AN OIL EMBARGO. WE HAD NO DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH ANY OF THE KEY ARAB COUNTRIES. THE WHOLE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD WAS IN INCREASING DIFFICULTIES BECAUSE OF THE IMPACT OF THE MIDDLE EAST. ADP159
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THE SOVIET UNION WAS BACKING THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND WAS THE PRINCIPAL INFLUENCE IN SEVERAL OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS, OUR IMMEDIATE OBJECTIVE HAD TO BE TO PREVENT THE IMPACT OF THIS CRISIS FROM ESCALATING FURTHER. WE ALSO THOUGHT THAT FOR NATIONS WHO HAD MADE NO PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE FOR A GENERATION, IT WAS IMPORTANT ABOVE ALL TO GET TO LEARN TO DEAL WITH EACH OTHER.

UNDER THOSE CONDITIONS, THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH WAS THE MOST EFFECTIVE METHOD TO MAKE PROGRESS. BECAUSE IT ENABLED US TO REDUCE PROBLEMS TO MANAGEABLE PROPORTIONS -- INSOFAR AS ANYTHING IS MANAGEABLE IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- AND ENABLED THE COUNTRIES TO TAKE THOSE STEPS ON WHICH THEY COULD AGREE.

WE WERE ALSO CONVINCED THAT SOMEWHERE ALONG THE LINE, THE STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH WOULD MERGE INTO AN OVER-ALL APPROACH AND THAT AN ATTEMPT WOULD BE MADE TO BRING ABOUT A PERMANENT PEACE ON THE BASIS OF NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE ARAB COUNTRIES AND ISRAEL. AND WE ARE APPROACHING THAT POINT IN ANY EVENT.

NOW, THE IMPACT OF LEBANON ON THIS PROCESS HAS BEEN THAT FOR THE TIME BEING, THE ENERGIES OF ALMOST ALL OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN A POTENTIAL NEGOTIATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST, AND PARTICULARLY OF THE ARAB PARTICIPANTS, IS FOCUSED ON THEIR DISAGREEMENTS WITH RESPECT TO THE EVOLUTION OF
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LEBANON. AND THE LEBANESE CIVIL WAR HAS TAKEN ON THESE TRAGIC DIMENSIONS, BECAUSE EACH OF THE FACTIONS, EACH OF THE ARAB FACTIONS IS BACKED TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT BY SOME OF THE ARAB COUNTRIES.

SO I WOULD HAVE TO SAY THAT UNTIL THE PROBLEM OF LEBANON IS RESOLVED, IT WILL BE VERY DIFFICULT TO GET ENOUGH ATTENTION TO A SERIOUS PROGRESS ON THE MIDDLE EAST. AND THE DEGREE OF UNITY AMONG THE ARAB COUNTRIES AS TO THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES IS ESSENTIAL TO MAKE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS TOWARDS PEACE.

MR. STERLING: AS A FOLLOW UP, THEN, BY YOUR LIGHTS, WHAT WOULD BE THE HAPPIEST POSSIBLE RESOLUTION OF THE LEBANESE SITUATION??

A. I THINK, HOWEVER, THAT AS THE LEBANESE SITUATION DEVELOPS, AND AS IT EVOLVES, THE EXPERIENCE OF THE VARIOUS ARAB COUNTRIES WITH THE CRISIS MAY BRING ABOUT CONSOLATIONS THAT WOULD BE QUITE FAVORABLE TO PEACE.

NOW, WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED IS THAT THE OUTCOME IN LEBANON SHOULD BE ONE IN WHICH THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF LEBANON IS PRESERVED, IN WHICH THE

TWO COMMUNITIES, THE CHRISTIAN AND THE MOSLEM COMMUNITY, CAN EXIST SIDE BY SIDE WITHOUT EITHER OF THEM ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE OTHER. AND THIS WILL REQUIRE SOME NEW CONSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FROM THOSE THAT PREVAILED PREVIOUSLY. AND IF THE LEBANESE PARTIES ARE LEFT TO SETTLE THEIR DISPUTES -- AND I BELIEVE THAT SOME FORMULA CAN BE FOUND AND WILL BE FOUND, IN WHICH THESE OBJECTIVES CAN BE ACHIEVED.

MR. NOKES: MR. RYSTROM.

MR. RYSTROM: ARE YOU PREPARED, MR. SECRETARY, OR ARE YOU WILLING TO STATE WHETHER THE UNITED STATES PLAYED ANY ROLE AT ALL IN THE RESCUE OF THE ISRAELI PLANE IN UGANDA, THE GATHERING OF INTELLIGENCE, THE ROLE OF THE CIA, OR ANY OTHER TYPE OF ACTIVITY??

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SECRETARY KISSINGER: AS YOU KNOW, WE WOULD BE GLAD TO GRAB ANY LITTLE BIT OF CREDIT THAT IS AVAILABLE. (LAUGHTER) AND WE HAVE BEEN KNOWN TO DO THAT. (LAUGHTER) BUT EVEN WITH THE BEST WILL IN THE WORLD, WE CAN'T CLAIM ANY CREDIT FOR THE ISRAELI ACTIONS. WE DID NOT KNOW AHEAD OF TIME WHAT THEY WERE PLAIING OR THAT THEY WERE PLANNING ANYTHING. AND WE GAVE THEM NO INTELLIGENCE. THEY DID THIS BY THEMSELVES, AND WE WERE AS SUPRISED AS ANYBODY ELSE WHEN WE WERE INFORMED ABOUT IT.

MR. RYSTROM: WHAT DOES THHT THEN SAY ABOUT YOUR INTELLIGENCE? (LAUGHTER)

SECRETARY KISSINGER: ACCORDING TO THE ACCOUNTS THAT HAVE BEEN PUBLISHED, THIS WHOLE OPERATION WAS CONCEIVED, PLANNED AND CARRIED OUT WITHIN A 48-HOUR PERIOD. AND WITHIN A 48-HOUR PERIOD, IT IS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO PUT TOGETHER THESE VARIOUS INDICATORS THAT YOU CAN TEND TO GET IN RETRO-SPECT THAT WOULD GIVE YOU THESE INDICATIONS.

YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT INTELLIGENCE IS COMPOSED OF MANY BITS AND PIECES, MANY OF WHICH ARE QUITE CONFUSING WHEN YOU GET THEM. AFTERWARDS, WHEN THE WHOLE EVENT HAS OCCURRED, YOU CAN USUALLY THEN UNDERSTAND WHAT EACH LITTLE ITEM MEANT. BUT THIS WAS SOMETHING THAT IN THE NATURE OF THINGS WE COULD HAVE VERY LITTLE INFORMATION ABOUT. AND THAT WOULD NOT BE A FAILURE OF INTELLIGENCE, BECAUSE OUR INTELLIGENCE IS NOT SPECIFICALLY TARGETTED ON ISRAELI ACTIONS IN AFRICA. (LAUGHTER)

MR. NOKES: I WONDER IF THE MODERATOR MIGHT INTERJECT A QUESTION CONCERNING THE LOCAL AREA? MR. SECRETARY SOUTH KOREA IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT IN THIS AREA AS A TRADING PARTNER. TODAY

IN SEATTLE, YOU RENEWED A CALL FOR A FOUR-PARTY CONFERENCE OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, NORTH KOREA AND SOUTH KOREA, TO MEET IN NEW YORK, TO NEGOTIATE A REDUCTION OF TENSIONS, AND CREATE A PERMANENT ARMISTICE IN KOREA.

I BELIEVE YOU STATED THAT OLD AGREEMENTS ARE NOT THE TEN COMMANDMENTS.

MIGHT THIS NOT BE INTERPRETED AS A WILLINGNESS ON OUR
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PART TO WRITE OFF OUR OLD FRIEND SOUTH KOREA AS A PART OF THE COMMUNIST WORLD? WHAT WOULD THE UNITED STATES SEEK FROM SUCH A CONFERENCE? WHAT WOULD BE OUR GOALS?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: THAT WAS A RATHER ELOQUENT PHRASE THERE THAT I WISHED I HAD USED. (LAUGHTER.) I MUST COMPLIMENT THE ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER WHO IS A LOT MORE ELOQUENT THAN I AM. (LAUGHTER)

WHAT I ATTEMPTED TO DO -- IN SEATTLE -- IS TO EXPLAIN THE PROPOSALS THAT THE NORTH KOREANS AND THEIR ALLIES AND SUPPORTERS HAVE MADE IN THE UNITED NATIONS. I POINTED OUT THAT THOSE PROPOSALS ARE ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE TO THE UNITED STATES. THOSE PROPOSALS ARE THE UNILATERAL WITHDRAWAL OF AMERICAN FORCES; THE ABOLISHING OF THE UNITED NATIONS COMMAND; AND IN EFFECT THE END OF THE ARMISTICE ON A UNILATERAL BASIS, AND THEN BILATERAL NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND NORTH KOREA.

I POINTED OUT THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE WITH NORTH KOREA EXCEPT IN THE PRESENCE OF SOUTH KOREA; THAT WE WOULD NOT NEGOTIATE OVER THE FATE OF AN ALLY WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THAT ALLY.

SECONDLY, WE EXPRESSED OUR GENERAL READINESS TO REPLACE THE EXISTING ARMISTICE AGREEMENT BY A MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT, IF A MORE PERMANENT ARRANGEMENT COULD BE NEGOTIATED.

MR. NOKES: A TWO-KOREA ARRANGEMENT??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: A TWO-KOREA ARRANGEMENT, UNLESS THE TWO KOREAS AGREED TO UNIFY, WHICH IS UP TO THE TWO KOREAS, BUT NOT SOMETHING THAT WE WILL IMPOSE ON THEM.

I THINK IF YOU READ MY SPEECH, YOU WILL FIND IT A STRONG DEFENSE OF OUR SOUTH KOREAN ALLIES, A STRONG STATEMENT THAT WE WILL NOT ACCEPT THE COMMUNIST NEGOTIATING PROGRAM. BT THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO MEET IN A FORUM IN WHICH THERE WOULD BE A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE UNITED STATES,

SOUTH KOREA, NORTH KOREA, AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
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OF CHINA, TO DISCUSS OTHER IDEAS.

THE PROPOSAL THAT I MADE TODAY HAD THE STRONG AND
WILLING SUPPORT OF THE SOUTH KOREAN GOVERNMENT, WHICH
HAS URGED US TO MAKE SOME CONCRETE PROPOSAL TO INDICATE
THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO HAVE ARRANGEMENTS ON THE PENINSULA
THAT DO NOT DEPEND SIMPLY ON AN ARMISTICE AGREEMENT. BUT
UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL THE UNITED STATES NEGOTIATE
BEHIND THE BACK OF ITS ALLY.

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AND UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL WE UNILATERALLY WITH-
DRAW OUR FORCES FROM KOREA IN THE ABSENCE OF A POLITICAL
ARRANGEMENT.

MR. NOKES: TOM MCCALL.

MR. MCCALL: I AM LOOKING AT A COPY OR A CLIPPING
FROM THE LOS ANGELES TIMES CONCERNING YOUR PRESS CONFERENCE
OF A RECENT SATURDAY; MR. SECRETARY, AND THE REPORTER
SAID YOU SEEMED TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH JUSTIFYING PAST
POLICIES THAN URGING NEW ONES.

IS THAT BECAUSE YOU ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO A NEW

CAREER IN NOVEMBER, OR IS THE SITUATION SO TURBULENT THAT YOU HAVE TO IN DIPLOMACY SIMPLY REACT RATHER THAN INITIATE? ARE INITIATIVES -- WHAT DIRECTION WOULD SOME NEW INITIATIVES TAKE? OR ARE WE JUST TRYING TO COMBAT YESTERDAY'S LEFT-OVERS AS FAR AS PROBLEMS ARE CONCERNED?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I DIDN'T READ THIS PARTICULAR STORY. IT IS IN THE NATURE OF THE FORMAT OF A PRESS CONFERENCE THAT YOU ARE ALWAYS JUSTIFYING OLD POLICIES. I DON'T REMEMBER THAT IN A PRESS CONFERENCE ANYONE EVER GOT UP AND SAID, "HAVE YOU THOUGHT OF ANY NEW INITIATIVES LATELY." (LAUGHTER) (APPLAUSE)

THE PRESS CONFERENCE IS NOT THE PLACE WHERE YOU FLOAT NEW INITIATIVES, AND THIS, THEREFORE, IS A
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CRITICISM THAT CAN BE MADE OF ANY PRESS CONFERENCE THAT ANY PRESIDENT OR SECRETARY OF STATE HAS EVER HAD THAT DEALT WITH FOREIGN POLICY.

I THINK, OVER THE PAST YEAR, WE HAVE MADE A NUMBER OF MAJOR INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF OUR RELATIONS BETWEEN THE -- IN THE FIELD OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES -- AS IN THE SPECIAL SESSION OF THE UNITED NATIONS GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AT THE CONFERENCE OF THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC COOPERATION. WE HAVE MADE MAJOR INITIATIVES IN THE FIELD OF OUR RELATIONS WITH OUR ALLIES. WE ARE CONTINUING INITIATIVES WITH RELATION TO THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS. BUT WHEN WE MAKE PROPOSALS, WE MAKE THEM IN FORMAL SPEECHES, AND NOT IN ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS. BECAUSE IT MIGHT JUST HAPPEN THAT THE RIGHT QUESTION ISN'T ASKED, AND THEN WE WOULD BE LEFT SITTING THERE AND HAVING THE PRESS CONFERENCE. (LAUGHTER)

MR. NOKES: MRS. MCALISTER

MRS. MC ALISTER: SECRETARY KISSINGER, AFTER WHAT HAS BEEN CALLED THE DECADE OF BENIGN NEGLECT, THE UNITED STATES HAS SUDDENLY AND VERY CONSPICUOUSLY INJECTED ITSELF ON THE AFRICAN SCENE. THE WAR IN ANGOLA, WITH PARTICIPATION BY THE CUBAN TROOPS AS THE SOVIET ARM, SEEMED TO PRECIPITATE THIS INVOLVEMENT.

FIRST OFF, ARE THERE ANY INDICATIONS IN FACT THAT CUBA WILL TAKE ITS TROOPS HOME FROM ANGOLA? AND, SECONDLY, IS THE UNITED STATES MAKING SOME DENT IN CONVINING SOUTH AFRICA AND RHODESIA TO TAKE MORE RAPID STEPS TOWARD EVENTUAL MAJORITY BLACK RULE?

SECRETARY KISSINGER: WITH RESPECT TO THE CUBAN TROOPS, WE WERE GIVEN AN INDICATION, WHEN I VISITED SWEDEN, BY THE PRIME MINISTER OF SWEDEN, WHO WAS SPEAKING ON BEHALF OF THE CUBAN GOVERNMENT, THAT THEY WOULD START WITH--DRAWING TROOPS AT A SPECIFIED RATE.

WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO CONFIRM THIS IN ANY MANNER. IT IS TRUE THAT CUBAN TROOPS ARE LEAVING ANGOLA. IT IS ALSO UNCLASSIFIED

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TRUE THAT OTHER CUBANS, EITHER TROOPS OR CIVILIAN PERSONNEL, ARE ENTERING ANGOLA. AND WHAT THE NET FLOW IS HAS NOT BEEN -- WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO DETERMINE CONCLUSIVELY.

IN ANY EVENT, THE NET FLOW IS SO RELATIVELY INSIGNIFICANT THAT IT DOES NOT AFFECT THE BASIC SITUATION OF A MASSIVE CUBAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCE IN ANGOLA, THAT HAS IMPOSED A GOVERNMENT ON ANGOLA THAT COULD NOT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED ANY OTHER WAY. THAT IS THE BASIC FACTOR TO WHICH WE OBJECT.

NOW, WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED STATES IN SOUTH AFRICA.

THE UNITED STATES HAS AN INTEREST IN PREVENTING A RACE WAR FROM DEVELOPING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, WHICH WILL HAVE A HIGH POTENTIAL OF BRINGING IN NEW OUTSIDE INTERVENTION, WHICH WOULD THEN TURN THE AFRICAN COUNTRIES MORE AND MORE TOWARDS VIOLENCE AND RADICALISM, AND GIVEN THE HISTORICAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EUROPE AND AFRICA, AND BETWEEN MANY PARTS OF OUR POPULATION AND AFRICA, SUCH A CONSEQUENCE WOULD HAVE A MAJOR IMPACT ON THE STABILITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM.

SO, OUR ATTEMPT IN AFRICA HAS BEEN TO SEE WHETHER IT WAS POSSIBLE TO SETTLE THESE CONFLICTS THROUGH A NEGOTIATION IN WHICH BOTH COMMUNITIES IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA, ESPECIALLY, WHITE AND BLACK COMMUNITIES, CAN CONTINUE TO LIVE SIDE BY SIDE. AND TO DO THIS BEFORE THEY GET INTO A WAR THAT TOOK ON NEW DIMENSIONS IN WHICH THE OUTCOME CAN ONLY BE A RADICAL SOLUTION.

WE ARE NOT INJECTING OURSELF INTO A SITUATION THAT WOULD NOT EXIST WITHOUT US. IF WE DO NOT ACT, THEN VIOLENCE WILL BECOME MORE AND MORE WIDESPREAD. AND CO-EXISTENCE WILL BECOME IMPOSSIBLE. AND IT IS THE JUDGMENT OF EVERYBODY WHO HAS STUDIED THE PROBLEM, OF ALL THE EXPERTS, THAT SOONER OR LATER, THESE MINORITY GOVERNMENTS, SUCH AS RHODESIA, WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SUPPORT THEMSELVES.

THIS IS WHY WE HAVE STRONGLY URGED NEGOTIATED SOLUTIONS. WE ARE NOW IN THE PROCESS OF EXPLORING WITH BLACK

AFRICAN COUNTRIES AND WITH SOUTH AFRICA, A FORMULA BY WHICH
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PERHAPS A NEGOTIATED SOLUTION CAN BE ACHIEVED.

WE DO THIS IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO THE VIOLENCE,
IN ORDER TO PUT AN END TO THE WAR, AND IN ORDER TO PERMIT
THE WHITE AND THE BLACK COMMUNITIES TO LIVE SIDE-BY-SIDE,
TO AVOID A RACE WAR, AND TO AVOID THE RADICALIZATION OF ALL
OF AFRICA.

WE COULD DO NOTHING WHICH IS THE TEMPTING THING TO DO.
THEN, A YEAR OR TWO FROM NOW, WE WILL FACE IMPOSSIBLE
PROBLEMS. AND JUST AS ANGOLA MADE THE NEXT CASE MORE
DIFFICULT, SO INACTIVITY IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA WILL MAKE
FURTHER REVOLUTION EVEN MORE PAINFUL AND EVEN MORE
DIFFICULT.

THIS IS WHY WE TAKE THIS INITIATIVE. THIS IS WHY
WE ARE MAKING AN EFFORT. AND WE BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE
POSSIBILITIES OF A SOLUTION IN WHICH THE BLACK MODERATE
LEADERS AND THE WHITE COMMUNITIES CAN CO-EXIST, AND WITH
WHICH A RACE WAR IS AVERTED, WHICH IS BOTH A MORAL AND
POLITICAL NECESSITY.

MRS. MC ALISTER: AND YOU ARE SAYING PROGRESS IS
BEING MADE TOWARD THIS.

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I THINK THERE IS A POSSIBILITY
OF PROGRESS. PASSIONS ARE VERY HIGH, AND THE DIFFERENCES
BETWEEN THESE PEOPLE ARE VERY GREAT, BUT WE THINK THAT THE
POSSIBILITY OF PROGRESS EXISTS.

MR. NOKES: BEFORE WE COME ON TO YOU, DON, MAY I ASK
THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN SELECTED FROM THE FLOOR TO ASK QUESTIONS,
APPROACH THE MIKES AND GET READY, AND NOW WE HAVE TIME FOR ONE
MORE SHORT QUESTION FROM DON.

MR. STERLING: IN THE LIGHT OF YOUR EXPRESSED HOPE
FOR A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION IN AFRICA, WHY DO WE CONTINUE TO
ALLOW THE RECRUITING OF MERCENARIES IN THE UNITED
STATES??

SECRETARY KISSINGER: I AM NOT AWARE THAT MERCENARIES
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ARE BEING RECRUITED IN THE UNITED STATES RIGHT NOW. AND IT IS CERTAINLY NOT DONE WITH THE CONNIVANCE OR AGREEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT. I AM NOT EXACTLY SURE WHAT THE LEGAL POSITION IS AND WHAT LEGAL AUTHORITY WE HAVE. BUT I WANT TO MAKE IT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT ENCOURAGE, OR SUPPORT THE RECRUITING OF MERCENARIES FOR THE WARS IN AFRICA.

MR. NOKES WE ARE NOW READY TO TAKE QUESTIONS FROM THE MIKES..

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Q. MR. SECRETARY, MY QUESTION IS AS FOLLOWS: WHAT ARE THE CHANCES OF A SECOND ARAB OIL EMBARGO? AND WHAT SHOULD THE UNITED STATES RESPONSE BE TO A POSSIBLE SECOND ARAB OIL EMBARGO, IF ONE SHOULD OCCUR??

A. WELL, THE POSSIBILITIES -- OUR RELATIONS WITH THE ARAB WORLD HAVE IMPROVED TO A POINT WHERE AN OIL EMBARGO IS NOT LIKELY TO BE UNDERTAKEN LIGHTLY. IF THERE SHOULD BE ANOTHER ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT, I SUPPOSE THAT THERE WILL BE SEVERAL ARAB STATES THAT WILL BE TEMPTED TO DO THIS.

SINCE 1973 WE AND THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS HAVE FORMED AN AGENCY -- THE SO-CALLED INTERNATIONAL ENERGY AGENCY -- WHOSE PURPOSE IT IS TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS

TO WITHSTAND THE IMPACT OF AN OIL EMBARGO. WE HAVE BUILT UP OUR OIL STOCKS SO THAT MOST COUNTRIES NOW HAVE BETWEEN SIX TO NINE MONTHS OF RESERVES. WE'VE AGREED TO SHARE AVAILABLE SUPPLIES, AND WE'VE BROUGHT ABOUT A SITUATION WHERE A SELECTIVE EMBARGO IS NO LONGER POSSIBLE BECAUSE OF THE MUTUAL SUPPORT THAT THE INDUSTRIALIZED NATIONS WILL GIVE TO EACH OTHER. SO AN EMBARGO WOULD BE A MUCH MORE COMPLICATED MATTER.

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AND WITHOUT GOING INTO DETAILS, IT'S NOT A MATTER WHICH THE OIL EXPORTING COUNTRIES SHOULD TAKE LIGHTLY BECAUSE IN THE FUTURE THE UNITED STATES AND ITS INDUSTRIAL ALLIES WOULD ALSO -- WOULD LOOK TO THEIR OWN ECONOMIC MEANS OF RESISTANCE.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, I WOULD LIKE TO KNOW: WILL THE UNITED STATES TAKE ANY ACTION TO TRY TO RECONCILE THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TAIWAN AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA?

A. WELL, BOTH PARTIES HAVE MAINTAINED THAT WE HAVE NO STANDING IN RECONCILING THESE DIFFERENCES, AND BOTH PARTIES HAVE INSISTED THAT THIS IS AN ESSENTIALLY INTERNAL CHINESE AFFAIR. WE HAVE STATED PUBLICLY THAT WE FAVOR A PEACEFUL NEGOTIATION OF THESE DIFFERENCES, AND WE WOULD WELCOME ANY EFFORTS TO DO THIS. BUT THIS IS A MATTER THAT MAY TAKE A WHILE TO WORK ITSELF OUT AND IT IS A MATTER THAT WE WILL LEAVE PRIMARILY TO THE CHINESE TO NEGOTIATE -- ALTHOUGH, OF COURSE, YOU'RE AWARE OF THE FACT THAT WE HAVE A DEFENSE TREATY WITH TAIWAN.

Q. MR. SECRETARY DO YOU FEEL NOW THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT MADE A MISTAKE IN NOT INTERVENING AND TO STOP THE TURKISH NATION TO HALT THEIR INVASION OF CYPRUS -- AS WAS DONE PREVIOUSLY BY PRESIDENT JOHNSON -- AND SINCE THE RESULTS OF NOT INTERVENING ARE NOT WHAT THEY ARE TODAY, WHAT ARE YOUR PLANS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR A SETTLEMENT OF THE CYPRUS TRAGEDY?

A. WELL, FIRST OF ALL, THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS -- I'M ALWAYS MOVED WHEN I TRAVEL AROUND AND I'M ASKED ABOUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT, AS IF IT WERE A MONOLITHIC ORGANIZATION.

(LAUGHTER.) IT'S NOT THE IMPRESSION OF IT WHERE
I SIT.. (LAUGHTER.)

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SECONDLY, THOSE OF YOUR WHO KNOW WASHINGTON
KNOW THAT THE PENTAGON DOESN'T NECESSARILY
DO WHAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT ASKS IT TO DO (LAUGHTER)
-- SO THESE DECISIONS ARE NATIONAL DECISIONS TAKEN BY
THE PRESIDENT.

THIRDLY, IF YOU LOOK AT THE SITUATION
THAT EXISTED AT THE TIME OF THE CYPRUS CRISIS,
THE UNITED STATES, IF IT HAD INTERVENED MILITARILY,
WOULD HAVE BEEN INTERVENING AGAINST AN ALLY ON BEHALF
OF A GREEK GOVERNMENT OF WHICH WE STRONGLY
DISAPPROVED AND IN DEFENSE OF AN ACTION
WHICH HAD BEEN STARTED BY THAT GREEK GOVERNMENT.
IT IS FORGOTTEN TODAY THAT DURING THE FIRST WEEK
OF THAT CRISIS -- THE WEEK DURING WHICH THE TURKISH
INVASION TOOK PLACE -- THE STATE DEPARTMENT WAS
ACCUSED OF SIDING WITH THE GREEKS AND OF NOT CONDEMNING
THE GREEKS SUFFICIENTLY. AND THIS MAY HAVE BEEN TRUE
BECAUSE WE WANTED TO DISCOURAGE A TURKISH INVASION.

NOW-- AND IF YOU WILL REMEMBER ALSO
THE SITUATION THAT EXISTED IN THE UNITED STATES
IN JULY 1974, IN THE LAST WEEKS OF THE WATERGATE
CRISIS, TO ENGAGE IN A MILITARY ACTION AGAINST
AN ALLY -- UNDER THOSE CIRCUMSTANCES -- ON BEHALF
OF A GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH WE WERE IN STRONG
DISAGREEMENT WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN A SIMPLE MATTER.
AND, THEREFORE, I SUPPORTED -- AND STILL SUPPORT
-- IN RESTROSPECT -- THE DECISION THAT WAS THEN MADE
NOT TO USE THE SIXTH FLEET IN A MILITARY OPERATION.

I MUST SAY ALSO THAT ONE OF THE PRIMARY
REASONS WHY FURTHER PROGRESS HAS NOT BEEN MADE
IS THE INTERVENTION BY THE CONGRESS, WHICH HAS
CONSTANTLY LEGISLATED ACTS WHICH HAVE INTERRUPTED
THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS THROUGH THE VARIOUS
EMBARGOES WHICH THEY HAVE LEGISLATED -- WHICH HAVE
DEPRIVED BOTH SIDES OF THE INCENTIVES TO MAKE
CONCESSIONS AND WHICH HAVE BROUGHT ABOUT A SITUATION
WHERE THE STATUS QUO HAS LASTED A LOT LONGER THAN IT
SHOULD HAVE.

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I BELIEVE THAT PROGRESS CAN BE MADE. THE UNITED STATES WOULD STRONGLY SUPPORT AND BE WILLING TO ASSIST IN THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. WE HAVE STATED PUBLICLY THAT WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT THE TERRITORY -- THAT THE SETTLEMENT CAN BE ALONG THE LINES THAT NOW EXIST IN CYPRUS. WE HAVE STATED PUBLICLY -- AND WE ARE WILLING TO BACK THIS UP -- THAT A SETTLEMENT MUST TAKE INTO ACCOUNT A SENSE OF JUSTICE AND SELF-RESPECT OF ALL OF THE COMMUNITIES -- ESPECIALLY OF THE GREEK COMMUNITY, WHICH HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF A GREAT DEAL OF ITS TERRITORY. BUT IT IS NOT POSSIBLE TO CONDUCT A SERIOUS NEGOTIATION WHEN THERE ARE CONSTANT SPECIFIC LEGISLATIVE PROPOSALS, BECAUSE A NEGOTIATION HAS TO BE CONDUCTED OVER A SUFFICIENT PERIOD OF TIME. IT CAN ONLY BE CONDUCTED BY A FEW PEOPLE.

THAT IS THE BASIC REASON WHY THERE HAVE BEEN DIFFICULTIES IN THE NEGOTIATIONS IN CYPRUS, WHICH WE REGRET AND IN WHICH WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO MAKE A MAJOR EFFORT TO BRING ABOUT A JUST SETTLEMENT.

Q. THE QUESTION, MR. SECRETARY, IS: WHAT IS THE BASIS FOR SELLING GOOD, TECHNOLOGY, AND MAKING BANK CREDITS AVAILABLE TO THE SOVIET UNION, WHEN THESE ARE HELPING THE SOVIET UNION EXTEND ITS WORLDWIDE POLICIES AGAINST THE INTERESTS AND SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES?

A. WELL, FIRST OF ALL, AS FAR AS CREDITS ARE CONCERNED, THE UNITED STATES HAS MADE -- AS A GOVERNMENT HAS MADE AVAILABLE ONLY INFINITESIMAL CREDITS COMPARED TO WHAT OTHER NATIONS HAVE DONE.

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THE GOVERNMENTAL INDEBTEDNESS OF THE SOVIET UNION TO THE UNITED STATES IS A FEW HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS. THE CREDITS GIVEN BY WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN TO THE SOVIET UNION ARE CLOSE TO 11 BILLION DOLLARS.

SO WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE IS A RATHER SMALL PART OF THE TOTAL AND IT IS A PITY THAT WE HAVE BEEN DEPRIVED, AGAIN, THROUGH LEGISLATIVE ACTION OF THE AUTHORITY, TO DO MORE -- BECAUSE WE WOULD BE IN A BETTER POSITION TO NEGOTIATE SPECIFIC POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN RETURN FOR CREDITS THAN THE WEAKER COUNTRIES AND THE WEAKER ECONOMIES OF WESTERN EUROPE AND JAPAN.

WITH RESPECT TO BOTH THE CREDITS AND THE FOOD, WE FACE THIS PROBLEM. THIS MORNING IN SEATTLE I WAS ASKED THE SAME QUESTION FROM EXACTLY THE OPPOSITE POINT OF VIEW. THE QUESTION WAS PUT IN TERMS OF OUR INTERRUPTING THE SALE OF GRAIN TO THE SOVIET UNION FOR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES, AND THE NATIONAL DECISION WE HAVE TO MAKE IS WHETHER FOREIGN COUNTRIES CAN ENTER THE AMERICAN MARKET SIMPLY ON COMMERCIAL TERMS, REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL CIRCUMSTANCES, WITHOUT THE UNITED STATES NEGOTIATING SOME POLITICAL FOREIGN POLICY BENEFIT FOR ITSELF OR WHETHER THE UNITED STATES WILL TRY TO GET SOME SOME FOREIGN POLICY BENEFITS.

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IF WE TRY TO GET FOREIGN POLICY BENEFITS, THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME AUTHORITY TO INTERRUPT THE ENTERING OF OUR MARKET.

NOW, THIS IS A QUESTION THAT IN THE CASE OF THE GRAIN HAS BEEN RESOLVED IN FAVOR OF PERMITTING FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO ENTER OUR MARKET, ESSENTIALLY WITHOUT RESTRICTIONS. IT HAS BEEN A POLICY THAT I HAVE NOTICED EVERY PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE HAS AFFIRMED, AND THAT ALSO REFLECTS OUR NATIONAL DECISION. BUT IN THAT CASE ONE CANNOT AFTERWARDS COMPLAIN THAT

WE ARE SELLING GRAIN TO THE SOVIETS BECAUSE THAT HAS BEEN THE DECISION WHICH HAS BEEN PRODUCED BY OUR DEMOCRATIC PROCESS.

Q. DR. KISSINGER, MY JEWISH BROTHER AND SISTERS ARE BEING TORTURED, ENSLAVED AND MURDERED IN THE SOVIET UNION. IN LIEU OF THE HELSINKI ACCORD, IS NOT THE RIGHT OF JEWISH EMIGRATION OF PRIME CONCERN TO THIS ADMINISTRATION?

A. WHEN THIS ADMINISTRATION CAME INTO OFFICE IN 1969, 500 JEWISH PEOPLE EMIGRATED FROM THE SOVIET UNION A YEAR. WE HAVE TAKEN THE POSITION -- WE TOOK THE POSITION THEN -- THAT WE WOULD NOT MAKE ANY DRAMATIC ISSUES BUT THAT WE WOULD APPEAL TO THE SOVIET UNION QUIETLY AND USING THE GENERAL ATMOSPHERE OF OUR RELATIONSHIP IN ORDER TO MAKE PROGRESS ON EMIGRATION.

BETWEEN 1969 AND 1973, THE RATE OF EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION WENT FROM 500 A YEAR TO 35,000 A YEAR. IT WAS THEN MADE A PUBLIC POLITICAL ISSUE AND -- AGAIN -- THE SUBJECT OF ATTENTION. AND THE EMIGRATION WENT DOWN FROM 35,000 TO 12,000.

THE QUESTION, THEREFORE, IS: WHAT POLICY IS MOST LIKELY TO BRING RESULTS??

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THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS NEVER CEASED URGING AN INCREASE IN EMIGRATION. WE HAVE REPEATEDLY AND SUCCESSFULLY SUBMITTED LISTS OF PEOPLE IN PRISON TO THE SOVIET UNION, AND WE HAVE ACHIEVED THE RELEASE OF A LARGE PERCENTAGE OF THOSE LISTS THAT WE HAVE SUBMITTED. WHEN WE HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL, WE HAVE NOT MADE ANY PUBLIC CLAIM FOR IT BECAUSE WE HAVE THOUGHT THAT THE SAVING OF LIVES WAS MORE IMPORTANT THAN GETTING THE CREDIT.

IT IS OUR CONVICTION THAT THE RESULTS ARE MORE LIKELY IF WE DO NOT TURN IT INTO A PUBLIC CONFRONTATION ON AN ISSUE THAT WILL BE ARGUED AS BEING WITHIN THE SOVIET DOMESTIC JURISDICTION. BUT IT IS A MATTER OF PROFOUND CONCERN -- A MATTER WHICH THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS STRONGLY SUPPORTED -- AND IN WHICH GREAT PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE, AND IN WHICH WE ARE PREPARED TO CONTINUE TO EXERCISE A GREAT DEAL OF INFLUENCE.

K MR. SECRETARY CAN YOU TELL US
THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN YOUR LATENT CONCEPT OF FOREIGN
POLICY AS DIFFERING FROM THAT OF PROFESSOR
BRZEZINKI, WHO LIKES TO THINK OF HIMSELF AS YOUR
POSSIBLE SUCCESSOR?? (LAUGHTER.)

A. WELL, I'VE TOLD MY FRIENDD BRZEZINKI
THAT THERE IS NO CONSTITUTIONAL REQUIRMENT THAT THE
SECRETARY OF STATE MUST BE FOREIGN-BORN.. (LAUGHTER AND
APPLAUSE.) AND ONE OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF BEING BOTH
A PROFESSOR AND A SECRETARY OF STATE IS THAT HALF
OF THE PROFESSORS IN THE COUNTRY THEN GET TO THINK
THAT THEY SHOULD BE ALSO SECRETARIES OF STATE.
(LAUGHTER.) THEY CAN BEAR HAVING A LAWYER OR A BUSINESS-
MAN IN THIS OFFICE, BUT ONE OF THEIR OWN IS
MORE THAN THEIR NERVOUS CONSTITUTION CAN TOLERATE.
(LAUGHTER.)

NOW, AS FAR AS BRZEZINKI IS CONCERNED,
I DON'T CONSIDER MYSELF IN COMPETITION WITH HIM.
AND HE HAS BEEN KNOWN TO CHANGE HIS OPINION AT VARIOUS
TIMES. SOMETIMES I'VE AGREED WITH HIM; SOMETIMES I
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HAVEN'T AGREED WITH HIM. BUT HE'S A MAN OF
CONSIDERABLE ABILITY AND HAS WRITTEN SOME OUTSTANDING
BOOKS, AND I WISH HIM WELL IN HIS ACADEMIC CAREER.
(LAUGHTER AND APPLAUSE.)

Q. MR. SECRETARY, COULD YOU TELL US WHAT
IN PRINCIPLE IS THE OFFICIAL UNITED STATES PROPOSAL
REGARDING THE PANAMA CANAL?

A. ONE OF THE AMAZING THINGS OF THIS
PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAGIN IS THAT SUDDENLY AN ISSUE
WAS RAISED THAT GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT NEW
NEGOTIATIONS HAD BEEN STARTED ON THE PANAMA
CANAL.

THE FIRST THING TO KEEP IN MIND IS THAT
THE NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT THE PANAMA CCNAL HAVE BEEN
GOING ON SINCE 1964 IN THREE ADMINISTRATIONS
AND NOT NECESSARILY COMMENTED UPON BY SOME OF THE MOST
VOCAL CRITICS OF THE PANAMA NEGOTIATIONS THIS YEAR.

THE ISSUE OF THE PANAMA CANAL IS NOT
WHETHER THE UNITED STATES SHOULD ACCEPT THE POSITION
OF A TIN-HORN DICTATOR -- AS THE PHRASE WENT -- IN
PANAMA. THE ISSUE IS THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE UNITED
STATES TO ALL THE COUNTRIES OF THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE.

AND WHAT THE UNITED STATES HAS TO DECIDE IS
WHETHER -- IF WE CAN ACHIEVE GUARANTEED FREE AND
UNINTERRUPTED ACCESS THROUGH THE CANAL WHETHER IT IS
POSSIBLE TO CHANGE SOME OF THE OTHER ARRANGEMENTS
WITH RESPECT TO THE CANAL.

WE CANNOT MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS ON THE RIGHT
OF FREE, GUARANTEED AND NEUTRAL ACCESS THROUGH
THE CANAL. IF THAT CONDITION CAN BE MET, THEN THERE
ARE SERIOUS ISSUES HAVING TO DO WITH THE OPERATION
OF THE CANAL -- ISSUES HAVING TO DO WITH THE DEFENSE

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INSTALLATIONS IN THE CANAL ZONE -- AND ISSUES
HAVING TO DO WITH THE NATURE OF THE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS
FOR THE CANAL.

THOSE ARE IN THE PROCESS OF BEING NEGOTIATED,
AND NOT ONE LINE OF AN AGREEMENT HAS YET BEEN PUT ON PAPER.
ALL OUR NEGOTIATIONS HAVE BEEN FULLY BRIEFED
TO THE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES.

THE PROCEDURE THAT WE WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY
FOLLOW IF THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE TO MAKE PROGRESS
WOULD BE FIRST TO AGREE ON A BASIC CONCEPT -- TO
SUBMIT THIS TO THE CONGRESS FOR DISCUSSION -- AND
THEN WHEN THE BASIC ONCEPT HAS ACHIEVED GENERAL
AGREEMENT, THEN WE WOULD NEGOTIATE A TREATY.

THAT TREATY WOULD AGAIN GO TO THE SENATE,

WHERE IT COULD BE BLOCKED BY A THIRD PLUS ONE
VOTE.

SO THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY OF DOING ANYTHING
THAT DOES NOT HAVE THE OVERWHELMING SUPPORT OF THE
AMERICAN PUBLIC. WE ARE, OF COURSE, PREPARED
TO DEFEND OUR RIGHTS FOR FREE AND UNIMPEDED ACCESS
THROUGH THE PANAMA CANAL. (APPLAUSE.) BUT, IF WE
HAVE TO DO THIS, WE WANT TO BE ABLE TO LOOK THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE EYE AND SAY, "WE HAVE MADE EVERY
EFFORT TO AVOID SUCH A CONTINGENCY." AND WE DO NOT
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WANT TO RISK ALL OUR RELATIONS WITH ALL OF THE COUNTRIES
IN THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE WITHOUT AT LEAST EXPLORING
WHETHER IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE AN ARRANGEMENT WHICH
GUARANTEES OUR FIGHTS BY OTHER MEANS.

Q. DR KISSINGER, AS ADMIRAL ZUMWALT
SUGGESTED, DO YOU BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. IN THE
FUTURE WILL LOSE ITS POSITION OF PRE-EMINENT
LEADERSHIP IN WORLD AFFAIRS?

A. I'VE NOMINATED ADMIRAL ZUMWALT
FOR THE PULITZER PRIZE FOR FICTION. (LAUGHTER AND
APPLAUSE.) I DON'T THINK THE GOOD ADMIRAL HAS YET
FULLY GRASPED THE FACT THAT IN RUNNING FOR THE SENATE
IN VIRGINIA HIS OPPONENT IS CALLED "BYRD" AND NOT
"KISSINGER." (LAUGHTER.)

I HAVE NEVER EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT HE
ASCRIBES TO ME, AND I DO NOT BELIEVE -- I'VE NEVER
BELIEVED, NOR DO I BELIEVE TODAY -- THAT THE
UNITED STATES IS BOUND TO BECOME IN A SECONDARY
POSITION TO ANY OTHER COUNTRY. (APPLAUSE.)

I DO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE CHANGING
CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE WORLD WHICH WE HAVE TO TAKE INTO
ACCOUNT, BUT UNDER NO CIRCUMSTANCES WILL THE
UNITED STATES ACCEPT SECOND PLACE, AND UNDER ALL
CIRCUMSTANCES MUST THE UNITED STATES MAINTAIN SUFFICIENT
MILITARY POWER TO MAKE SURE THAT NO OTHER COUNTRY
CAN IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE UNITED STATES. (APPLAUSE.)

Q. SECRETARY KISSINGER, DURING THE
KENNEDY ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS ERA, A STRONG U.S.-LATIN
AMERICA BOND WAS BEGINNING TO FORM. WHAT SINCE HAS
HAPPENDED, AND HOW CAN THIS PAN-AMERICAN BOND AGAIN
BE RE-CEMENTED?

A. DURING THE KENNEDY PERIOD, THE
ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS WAS A VERY IMAGINATIVE
APPROACH TO LATIN AMERICA, BUT IT IS ALSO TRUE
THAT IT WAS NO LONGER APPROPRIATE TO THE CONDITIONS
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THAT DEVELOPED LATER. THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE
ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS -- NAMELY/THAT THE UNITED
STATES COULD DEFINE FOR LATIN AMERICA WHAT ITS
INSTITUTIONS MIGHT BE, AND THAT THE
UNITED STATES COULD DEVELOP A PROGRAM MADE IN
THE UNITED STATES FOR LATIN AMERICA DID NOT
CORRESPOND TO THE REALITIES OF THE LATE 60S AND
OF THE CONTEMPORARY PERIOD.

WE HAVE TRIED TO SUBSTITUTE FOR IT SOMETHING
THAT WE HAVE CALLED "THE NEW DIALOGUE," IN WHICH WE
DEAL WITH EACH OTHER ON A MORE EQUAL BASIS AND IN
WHICH WE TRY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE EMERGENCE
IN LATIN AMERICA OF MANY COUNTRIES THAT ARE GOING
TO BE WITHIN A GENERATION AMONG THE MOST POWERFUL
NATIONS IN THE WORLD AND WHOSE RATE OF ECONOMIC
PROGRESS IS VERY CONSIDERABLE.

THIS POLICY HAS MADE CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS.
IT IS NOT AS DRAMATIC BECAUSE A LONG-RANGE
POLICY DOESN'T LEND ITSELF TO GREAT DRAMA. BUT I THINK
THE FOUNDATIONS HAVE BEEN LAID FOR CLOSE COOPERATION
IN THE FIELD OF ECONOMIC COOPERATION, IN THE FIELD
OF TRANSFER OF TECHNOLOGY, AND IN THE FIELD OF
RESTRUCTURING THE INSTITUTIONS OF THE WESTERN
HEMISPHERE THAT IN THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO ARE GOING
TO SHOW CONSIDERABLE RESULT.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, HOW CAN A RISE
IN THE PRICE OF OIL BY THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES
BE PREVENTED BY OTHER MEANS THAN TRADING IN
ARMAMENTS?

A. WELL, I DON'T THINK THAT THE TRADE
IN ARMAMENTS IS A DEVICE TO PREVENT THE RISE IN
OIL PRICES. I THINK IT RESULTS FROM THE RISE IN OIL
PRICES THAT HAS ALREADY OCCURRED BECAUSE IT GIVES
THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES ENORMOUSLY LARGE RESOURCES
WITH WHICH TO PURCHASE EITHER INDUSTRIAL GOODS
OR ARMAMENTS -- IF THAT'S WHAT THEY CHOOSE
-- SO THE BASIC PROBLEM IS NOT THAT WE ARE TRYING TO
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PREVENT A RISE IN OIL PRICES BY SELLING ARMAMENTS.
THE FACT IS THAT HAVING ALREADY ACHIEVED SUCH TRE-
MENDOUS SURPLUSES AS A RESULT OF THE OIL PRICES
THAT HAVE OCCURRED SINCE 1973, THE OIL-PRODUCING COUNTRIES
CAN ENTER THE INTERNATIONAL MARKET AND BUY ARMAMENTS.
AND IF THEY DON'T GET THEM FROM US, THEY GET THEM
FROM OTHER COUNTRIES. AND IT IS IN OUR INTEREST.
OUR PURPOSE IN SELLING ARMS, WHEN WE DO, IS NOT TO
PREVENT THE RISE IN PRICES BUT IN ORDER TO PREVENT
OTHER COUNTRIES FROM GAINING THE POSITION OF INFLUENCE
THAT OFTEN COMES WITH THE SALE OF ARMS.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, I'D LIKE TO ASK IF YOU
BELIEVE THAT THE RUSSIANS CONTROL THE EASTERN EUROPEAN
NATIONS. AND DO YOU THINK THEIR DEALINGS WITH THE
WEST CONTINUES OR ARE THOSE COUNTRIES BECOMING MORE
INDEPENDENT IN THEIR DEALINGS WITH US NOW.

A. OF THE EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS?

Q. YES. THE BLOC OF THE EAST EUROPEAN NATIONS.

A. I BELIEVE THAT MANY COUNTRIES IN
EASTERN EUROPE ARE MAKING AN ATTEMPT TO ACHIEVE
A GREATER DEGREE OF AUTONOMY IN THEIR DEALINGS
WITH THE WEST.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE SCOPE OF THEIR INDEPENDENCE
IS SEVERELY LIMITED BY THE KIND OF ECONOMIC TIES
THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS INSISTED UPON AND BY THE
PRESENCE OF SOVIET TROOPS IN ALMOST ALL OF THESE
COUNTRIES -- AND, FINALLY, BY THE MEMORY OF WHAT
HAS HAPPENDED IN THOSE COUNTRIES THAT TRIED TO MAKE
A DECISIVE BREAK.

SO I WOULD SAY THAT THERE IS A GREATER SCOPE
FOR GREATER AUTONOMY IN EASTERN EUROPE -- A SCOPE
THAT WE ENCOURAGE.

WE DO NOT ACCEPT THE PROPOSITION THAT THE
SOVIET UNION HAS A RIGHT TO DOMINANCE IN EASTERN
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EUROPE. BUT WE ALSO DO NOT MAKE PROMISES WE CANNOT

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BUT THERE IS A GREATER AUTONOMY -- BUT
THERE IS NOT THE DEGREE OF FREEDOM THAT WE WOULD
PREFER.

MR. NOKES: THE LAST QUESTION.

Q. MR. SECRETARY, YOU RECENTLY WENT TO
AFRICA, AND AT THE TIME THE U.S. DOES NOT SEEM TO
WANT THE PHYSICAL INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA. DON'T YOU
THINK THAT THIS TRIP UPSETS THE DELICATE BALANCE
OF POWER CURRENTLY EXISTING IN AFRICA AND THAT
THE WORDS IN FAVOR OF THE MOST RADICAL BLACK LIBERA-
TION MOVEMENTS WILL CAUSE CONSIDERABLE TROUBLE TO THE
MORE MODERATE GOVERNMENTS, BLACK OR WHITE?

A. WELL, THE PURPOSE OF GOING TO AFRICA
WAS TO ENCOURAGE AND TO STRENGTHEN THE MODERATE
GOVERNMENTS IN AFRICA. AND THE TRIP WAS ESPECIALLY
WELCOMED BY THE MODERATE GOVERNMENTS IN AFRICA
AND WAS CONSTANTLY ATTACKED BY THE RADICAL GOVERNMENTS
IN AFRICA.

THE PURPOSE OF THE TRIP WAS TO PREVENT THE
FURTHER RADICALIZATION OF A SITUATION THAT WAS
ALREADY GETTING INCREASINGLY VIOLENT AND INCREASINGLY
THREATENED TO GET OUT OF CONTROL. AND, THEREFORE, I
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WOULD SAY FAR FROM UPSETTING A BALANCE WE'RE TRYING
TO BRING ABOUT A BALANCE -- FAR FROM ENCOURAGING THE
RADICAL GOVERNMENTS, WE'RE TRYING TO CREATE SITUATIONS
IN WHICH THE MODERATE GOVERNMENTS WOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE
A PROGRAM TO WHICH THEY CAN RELATE THEMSELVES.
AND FAR FROM TRYING TO ENCOURAGE ONE COMMUNITY AGAINST
THE OTHER, WE'RE TRYING TO BRING ABOUT CONDITIONS
IN WHICH ALL COMMUNITIES CAN LIVE UNDER CONDITIONS
OF JUSTICE AND PROGRESS.

MR. NOKES: THANK YOU.

THANK YOU, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN. THANK ALL
OF YOU WHO ASKED QUESTIONS (LAUGHTER), AND I'M SORRY
WE COULD NOT ACCOMMODATE EVERYONE. (APPLAUSE.)

THANK YOU, MEMBERS OF THE PANEL.

MR. SECRETARY, WE WISH TO PRESENT NOW
OREGON II -- A PHOTO ESSAY THAT SHOWS SOME OF THE
BEAUTIES OF THE STATE OF OREGON -- AS A MEMENTO OF
YOUR VISIT TO OREGON. THIS IS BUT A SMALL
TOKEN OF OUR THANKS. AND WE SHALL UNDERSTAND,
IF YOU DON'T HAVE TIME TO DEVOUR IT IMMEDIATELY --
AS YOU SHOULD DO -- (LAUGHTER) THAT IT WILL LOOK NICE
ON MRS. KISSINGER'S COFFEE TABLE, WHERE YOU CAN PICK
IT UP FROM TIME TO TIME.

WE ARE ADJOURNED. THANK YOU.
(APPLAUSE.) END TEXT
KISSINGER

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